

Speech of Hon. Thomas L. Clingman
in Congress.

I was suited last winter to hear a Northern Senator say, that in the town in which he lived, it would excite great astonishment if it were known that a northern lady would, at the time of the meeting of the two houses, walk up to the Capitol with a retinue of attendants. He has been taught to consider southerners generally as being low and ruffianly in manner, that a lady would not trust herself in such a presence. This anecdote, as does not present too strong a picture of the condition of sentiment in portions of the interior of the North, is a fair specimen of the general opinion on this floor as to the character of the South, and by such state of opinion, I leave them to decide.

The great principle upon which the northern movement rests, which is already adopted by most northern politicians, and to which they all seem likely to be driven by the force of the popular cur-

Suppose a proportional burden was inflicted on the South by the Federal Government. Suppose that the South had to bear the loss annually of one million one hundred thousand dollars, not only inflicted without law, but against an express provision of the constitution. We may infer from the complaint she has made that she might have convenience imposed on her by that regulation. But she complains which prevented ship captains from carrying from her ports.

This whole action, on the part of the North is not only in violation of the constitution, but seems to be purely wanton, or originating in malice toward her. It is obvious that they do not want our slaves, and that they are not content, but only make no adequate provision for their comfort, but, in fact, in many of the States, bare, or comfort

would neither violate the constitution nor annul it thus, what are we to expect? Slavery is to be kept, they say, where it now is; and we are to be unopposed in our efforts. These States not only prohibit the introduction of negroes but also of free negroes into their borders. Of course the whole negro population is to be hereafter confined to the territory of the present fifteen slave States. That population in twenty-five years will amount to seven or eight millions, and in fifty years to fifteen millions. If the population might become so, the negroes will not be gotten away, but the wealthier portion of the white population (I mean such as were able to emigrate) would leave the territory. The condition of the South would, for a time, be that of Ire-

ers are produced with much more facility. It is also attributable to the comparative repose of the world, which has directed capital and labor, formerly consumed in wars, to industrial pursuits. Hence, though there is a gradual reduction in prices in the interior of the continent, more striking on the other side of the Atlantic. In Great Britain particularly, as well as in certain portions of the continent, such is the accumulation of capital, and so great the number of laborers who are employed to seek for a mere subsistence, that prices are so low, that the laborer has a right to take advantage of this state of things, and the Europeans do so of their cheap production of cotton. Instead of giving us half a dollar a pound, as they used to do, they, as well as the people of the

But I still think that they would do injustice to these two States if they supposed that they would be governed solely or even mainly by calculations of interest. Maryland and Kentucky are filled with as courageous, as generous, and as noble-minded men and women as any State in the Union. If they were to follow the impulses, they would make common cause with their oppressed sisters of the South, and, if necessary, take their places where the blows might fall thick and fast in the front of the column, with the same high feelings that animated their ancestors on the battlefield of the Revolution. Rationing is a thing which should separate from us, I think it far more probable that some of the northern free States would find it to their advantage to go with the South. But we have been threatened that the North will

I have, thus, set frankly upon my opinions on this great question, which I propose to maintain, but only to warn. Gentlemen, I have said to myself, it is to see that, while submission to war is proposed, would be ruinous to us, it would not in the end be beneficial to their section. Seeing, then, that they are in all butarings, it is for them to decide. They have no right to say, *the destiny of the existing government. Should circumstances arise, we will wish that you may prosper. From all my knowledge of the elements of your society, I have doubts that we shall, under the favor of Providence, in all events, take care of ourselves, I have no fears.* In consequence, I say, Do us justice, and we continue to stand with you; attempt to trample on us, and we part company.